

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01 SAJ-01 ACDA-05 /105 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5131

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 20319

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, GW
SUBJECT: A NEW GLOBAL POLICY FOR THE FRG?

REF: BONN 19855 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT INDICATIONS THAT THE FRG IS BROADENING THE FOCUS OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY. SEVERAL FOREIGN POLICY AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL FACTORS APPEAR TO PUSH THE FRG IN THIS DIRECTION, BUT THERE IS ALSO EVIDENCE THAT GERMAN INTEREST IN THE THIRD WORLD HAS NOT BEEN TRANSLATED INTO A GENERAL POLICY. WE BELIEVE THAT GERMAN RESOURCES WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONCENTRATED ON NATO AND EUROPE, THAT GREATER GERMAN GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT IS A WELCOME DEVELOPMENT, BUT THAT WE WILL NEED TO BE SENSITIVE TO POTENTIAL POINTS OF CONFLICT. END SUMMARY.

1. AS WE HAVE INDICATED IN REFTEL, A RECENT VISIT BY FRG FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER TO LATIN AMERICA, A TRIP TO SOUTHEAST ASIA BY MINISTER OF STATE MOERSCH, AND EARLIER TRIPS BY GENSCHER HAVE GIVEN RISE TO GERMAN PRESS SPECULATION--SOME OF IT FUELED BY FOREIGN OFFICE BACKGROUNDEERS--THAT GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS BECOME MORE GLOBAL IN ITS CHARACTER. THE FOREIGN MINISTRY,
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WITHOUT SPECIFICALLY CONFIRMING OR DENYING THE GENERAL NOTION, HAS STRESSED THAT SUCH A NEW POLICY WOULD NOT BE CARRIED OUT AT THE EXPENSE OF GERMAN TIES TO NATO AND EUROPE.

2. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF REASONS WHY GERMAN INTERESTS AND CONCERNS NOW RANGE MORE WIDELY ACROSS THE WORLD AS A WHOLE. SOME OF THESE REASONS ARE FUNDAMENTAL AND

PERHAPS PERMANENT; OTHERS ARE SUBJECTIVE AND PROBABLY
TRANSITORY.

3. GERMAN OFFICIALS AT VARIOUS LEVELS IN THE FOREIGN
MINISTRY HAVE POINTED TO THE FOLLOWING FUNDAMENTAL
REASONS FOR GREATER GERMAN GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT:

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-- THE FRG IS INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON STABLE
SUPPLIES OF RAW MATERIALS AND ON OPEN EXPORT MARKETS TO
GUARANTEE DOMESTIC PROSPERITY. LIKE OTHER WESTERN
NATIONS, THE GERMANS NOW REALIZE THAT THEIR SOURCES AND
THEIR MARKETS CANNOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

-- THE FRG IS A WILLING (AND EVEN ESSENTIAL)
PARTNER IN THE EFFORT BY THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS OF THE
WEST TO MEET THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE
THIRD WORLD.

-- AS THE INTENSE GERMAN PREOCCUPATION WITH THE
DIVISION OF THEIR OWN LAND HAS SOFTENED, THEY HAVE BEEN
MORE READY TO DIRECT SOME OF THEIR ENERGIES TOWARD
OTHER COUNTRIES ON A LONG-TERM BASIS (AND NOT JUST TO
COUNTER EAST GERMAN EFFORTS, THOUGH THAT COMPETITION
OBVIOUSLY REMAINS A FACTOR).

-- THE GERMANS HAVE BECOME MORE CONSCIOUS OF THE
POWER OF NON-EUROPEAN STATES (I.E., CHINA, IRAN, BRAZIL,

ETC.).

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-- LAST BUT NOT LEAST, GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE PLANNERS ARE BEGINNING TO LOOK MORE AND MORE TO THE FUTURE WORLD THAT THEY SEE EMERGING. IN THAT FUTURE WORLD, THEY BELIEVE, GERMANY WILL HAVE TO HAVE MORE WORLD-WIDE CONTACTS.

4. THESE FUNDAMENTAL REASONS FOR GREATER GERMAN INVOLVEMENT ARE OVERLAID WITH A SERIES OF SHORT-TERM POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC FACTORS WHICH HELP SPUR THIS PARTICULAR GOVERNMENT TO GREATER ACTION:

-- FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER, WHO INITIALLY HAD SOME DIFFICULTY FINDING HIS PLACE IN THE SUN NEXT TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, HAS CLEARLY DECIDED THAT TRAVEL TO DISTANT LANDS OFFERS POLITICAL PROFIT NOT ONLY FOR HIMSELF BUT ALSO FOR THE FDP AS JUNIOR PARTNER IN THE COALITION.

-- GENSCHER'S TRAVELS HAVE SERVED AS CATALYSTS THAT HAVE COMPELLED THE FOREIGN MINISTRY TO DEVELOP POLICIES TOWARD AREAS THAT THE MINISTRY WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE APPROACHED MORE SLOWLY.

-- SINCE THE GERMAN FASCINATION FOR OSTPOLITIK IS ON THE WANE, THE GOVERNMENT MUST TURN ELSEWHERE FOR SUCH FOREIGN SUCCESSES AS IT CAN FIND.

-- THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ALSO FEELS ITSELF IN COMPETITION WITH EGON BAHR'S MINISTRY FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION. BOTH WOULD BE DELIGHTED FULLY TO TAKE OVER GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE THIRD WORLD. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO LATIN AMERICA, GENSCHER SIGNED SEVERAL AID AGREEMENTS THAT WOULD EARLIER HAVE BEEN SIGNED BY THE ECONOMIC AID MINISTER.

-- THE CDU, LED BY A YOUNG, AMBITIOUS AND CAPABLE DEPUTY, JUERGEN TODENHOEFER, HAS BEEN ATTACKING FRG DEVELOPMENT POLICIES.

5. WITH ALL THIS GOING ON, IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN

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MIND THAT THE GERMAN INTEREST IN THE THIRD WORLD HAS NOT BEEN TRANSLATED INTO A GENERAL POLICY COMMANDING MAJOR RESOURCES OR PUBLIC SUPPORT. GERMAN DEVELOPMENT AID HAS NOT INCREASED AND IS FAR FROM REACHING THE PUTATIVE GOAL OF 0.7 PER CENT OF GNP. IN FACT, THE AID BUDGET FOR 1976 WAS CUT. A RECENT BUNDESTAG DEBATE ON DEVELOPMENT POLICY WAS POORLY ATTENDED AND COMMANDED LITTLE PUBLIC ATTENTION. MOREOVER, EVEN AFTER GENSCHER MAKES A VISIT TO ANY COUNTRY, GERMAN POLICY TOWARD THAT COUNTRY MAY NOT NECESSARILY CHANGE BUT OFTEN WILL LAPSE BACK INTO ITS EARLIER DORMANT STATE.

6. MOREOVER, THERE ARE SEVERE LIMITS TO THE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE--OR THE POLITICAL IMPACT--OF GERMAN POLICY IN THE WORLD AT LARGE. RECENT GERMAN HISTORY HAS MADE THE GERMANS SELF-CONSCIOUS OF ANYTHING THAT SMACKS OF EXPANSIONISM. ALTHOUGH THE LACK OF GERMAN COLONIAL TRADITION OFTEN HELPS THE GERMANS MAKE AN INITIAL CONTACT ABROAD, IT ALSO HINDERS THEM BECAUSE THEY LACK THE NETWORK OF TIES THAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE ENJOY AND BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED POPULAR UNDERSTANDING FOR GLOBAL POLICY.

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ALTHOUGH THE FRG HAS A REPUTATION FOR WEALTH, IT OFTEN
HAS THE SAME DIFFICULTIES AS OTHER COUNTRIES IN LOCATING
CASH FOR AN EFFECTIVE THIRD WORLD POLICY.

7. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, GERMAN POWER RESOURCES MUST BE
CONCENTRATED PRIMARILY IN NATO AND EUROPE WHERE

GERMANY'S SURVIVAL WILL BE DECIDED. THERE IS LITTLE LEFT TO SPARE FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD EXCEPT SOME MONEY AND OCCASIONAL VISITS. THIS IS NOT THE STUFF OF WHICH A MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY CAN BE MADE IN THE AGE OF SUPER POWERS.

8. THE "NEW" GERMAN GLOBAL POLICY DOES NOT REPRESENT A COORDINATED AMALGAM OF POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ACTIONS. IT DOES NOT FIND ITS INTELLECTUAL ROOTS IN HAUSHOFER OR IN OTHER GERMAN GEOPOLITICAL THINKING. IT IS, RATHER, AN UNPLANNED AND OFTEN RELUCTANT OUTGROWTH OF GERMANY'S POSTWAR ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND OF CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL REALITIES THAT HAVE COMPELLED RE-EXAMINATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S OBSESSION WITH ITS OWN IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS AND WITH EUROPEAN CONCERNS. IT DOES NOT APEAR TO HAVE EMERGED
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OUT OF ANY CONSCIOUS, THOROUGHLY STAFFED DECISION, BUT RATHER AS A REACTION TO EVENTS.

9. COINCIDENTALLY, THIS NEW GLOBAL OUTLOOK APPEARS TO BE EMERGING AT THE SAME TIME AS A SOMEWHAT GREATER GERMAN READINESS TO ASSERT ITS WEIGHT IN EUROPE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE GERMANS HAVE BEEN READY TO ASSIST MODERATE FORCES IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL AND THEY HAVE ALSO TRIED TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE IN SUCH INTERNECINE BATTLES AS THE CYPRUS ISSUE, SINCE ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS THREATEN NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK. MOST RECENTLY, IT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN FRG CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT WHO BROUGHT PRIME MINISTER WILSON TO HEEL OVER ENGLAND'S DEMAND FOR A SEPARATE SEAT AT THE ENERGY CONFERENCE. BUT THESE EUROPEAN POLICIES, LIKE GERMAN GLOBAL POLICIES, ARE OFTEN DISAVOWED BY GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMEN AS IF ANY MANIFESTATION OF GERMAN INTERESTS IMPLIED A GERMAN DESIRE TO DOMINATE EUROPE.

10. FROM OUR STANDPOINT, THE CRUCIAL QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER GERMANY'S GREATER GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT WILL CONFLICT WITH OUR INTERESTS DESPITE GERMAN DISAVOWALS OF ANY SUCH INTENT.

11. WE CAN SEE SOME MANIFESTATIONS OF POTENTIAL DANGER. THERE IS BOUND TO BE INCREASING TRADE COMPETITION. MOREOVER, THERE MAY EVEN BE--AFTER SOME TIME--CONFLICTS IN ARMS SALES POLICIES OR IN OTHER POLICIES. AS OUR DISPUTE WITH THE FRG OVER THE BRAZIL NUCLEAR SALE SHOWED, A CERTAIN NATIONALIST RESENTMENT CAN BE AROUSED IN THIS COUNTRY AS IN ANY OTHER. MOREOVER, WE MAY HAVE TO USE SOME OF OUR CAPITAL WITH THE FRG TO SEE TO IT

THAT GREATER GERMAN ACTIVITY FOLLOWS THE LINES WE FAVOR.

12. ON BALANCE, HOWEVER, WE WOULD THINK THAT GREATER GERMAN INVOLVEMENT SHOULD NOT CONFLICT WITH OUR INTERESTS BUT WILL PROBABLY SUPPORT OUR PURPOSES. THE GERMANS CAN ADD SOME MONEY TO THE INTERNATIONAL AID KITTY. THEY CAN BRING A WESTERN PRESENCE INTO AREAS WHERE OURS MAY NOT BE WELCOME. THEIR GLOBAL POLICIES ARE SUCH THAT THEY WOULD GENERALLY TEND TO EXERT A MODERATING
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INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY AS THEY BELIEVE THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO PLAY IT ANY OTHER WAY. MOREOVER, EXPOSURE TO OUTSIDE FORCES AND THOUGHTS MIGHT HAVE A USEFUL IMPACT ON THE GERMANS THEMSELVES.

13. WE WOULD CONCLUDE, THEREFORE, THAT GREATER GERMAN GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT SHOULD BE A WELCOME DEVELOPMENT FROM OUR STANDPOINT THOUGH WE WILL NEED TO BE SENSITIVE TO POTENTIAL POINTS OF CONFLICT.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: SmithRJ
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BONN20319
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750437-0153
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751237/aaaabggx.tel
Line Count: 464
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 BONN 19855
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: SmithRJ
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2003 by MartinML>; APPROVED <06 OCT 2003 by SmithRJ>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: A NEW GLOBAL POLICY FOR THE FRG?
TAGS: PFOR, GE, XX
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006